

# The Spokesman

## WEEKLY

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## Mystery Of "Formulas" About Punjab Tangle Deepens

### Akali Morcha Has A Solid Mass Base

There is stalemate on the centre-Akali talks front, despite Union Home Minister Sethi's hopeful prediction that a settlement would be reached before June 17—date fixed by Shiromani Akali Dal President Sant Harchand Singh Longowal for the next phase of their agitation.

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi has also been speaking in different voices at different places.

Last month there was a talk of several formulas. Mr Sethi told parliament that a formula had been sent to Akalis for their comments. When Sant Longowal denied its receipt, then Mr Sethi claimed that a "new formula" had been despatched to Amritsar. The Sant again declared that he had not received any such communication and, therefore, there was no question of Akali high command considering it.

Mrs Gandhi also said last week that a "solution" of the Punjab tangle had been found.

Where these "formulas" or "solution" are, no one knows. Their existence is an enigma wrapped in a riddle.

Now the prime minister, in her election speeches in Jammu and Kashmir, has been lashing at the Akalis with a vengeance. This merely shows that she is not in a conciliatory mood. And the much promised "solution" is still very far away.

All outside Congress(I) ranks are now convinced that the centre is not keen at all in coming to terms with Akalis and bring peace to the strife-torn Punjab. May be this is connected with the mid-term poll to Lok Sabha which is so much in the air. Perhaps Mrs Gandhi wants to give the impression that she cannot be cowed down by Akali threats.

Akali Morcha has so far been very peaceful. Volunteers have been coming forward to court arrest and board the waiting buses quietly to be transported

to jails. This has won them plaudits from one and all.

Acts of violence in Punjab are the handiwork of a misguided few. There is substance in allegations that they are "hired men" of the ruling party to give the Akalis and their struggle a bad name.

A few weeks ago an agreement was almost reached at the

tripartite talks in which central cabinet's negotiating team, an Akali delegation, and almost all national opposition leaders took part. But then the government, for reasons known to it, backed out and abruptly called off the talks.

Maybe Mrs Gandhi's ire was aroused because Akalis refused  
(Continued on next page)

## Facts Expose Mrs. Gandhi's False Allegations

### Akalis Have Been Consistent In Their Stand

In her present tirade against Akalis, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi has been darting allegations which do not stand the test of accuracy. The cynical can be forgiven if they deduce that these outbursts are designed to conceal her own reluctance to solve the Punjab tangle and to divert public gaze into wrong alleys.

She said at Kathua, near Jammu, on May 23 that "certain leaders of the Akali agitation are getting foreign money". She also claimed that the Morcha was being encouraged by certain "foreign powers".

But her own union home minister, Mr. P.C. Sethi, had emphatically stated at Kanpur on May 15 that he did not see "hand of any foreign power" in the agitation.

This only proves that Mrs. Gandhi is indulging in mudslinging in the vain hope that some of it would stick.

The Akalis do not need any money from outside India not even from Sikh sympathisers settled abroad. The question of accepting money from any foreign power cannot and does not arise.

It is true that Sikhs, in fact all Punjabis, in foreign countries are exercised over the government's delay in conceding Akali demands which are demands of entire Punjab and all Punjabis and which are just and fair. To accept such sympathy is no sin or crime, much less an act of treason.

Mrs. Gandhi has also asserted that Akalis have been shifting their stands. She said: "A political party had raised certain demands of a religious nature, but when these were accepted, it put forward a few more demands to create a complex situation."

This is a complete travesty of truth.

Sant Harchand Singh Longowal has described her statement as "unfounded, misleading and politically motivated".

At the very outset Akalis had submitted a charter of 45 demands which were a combination of religious, economic and political ones. Later, they reduced them to about a dozen. At all times the list included those on immediate merger of Chandigarh with Punjab and retention of Abohar-Fazilka belt in the state, reference of Ravi-Beas waters dispute to a supreme court judge, and appointment of a commission of linguistic experts to go into the territorial claims and counter-claims of Punjab and Haryana, with village as the unit and the language actually spoken and contiguity as the sole criteria.

These demands were fully explained to Mrs. Gandhi and her team of negotiators by Akalis during a series of meetings during the last few months. In some of them, national opposition leaders also participated, and they are living eye-witnesses to nail Mrs Gandhi lies.

It is the government which is guilty of mercurial behaviour, not Akalis.



## Centre's Delaying Tactics Deplored Atma Singh Denies Prime Minister's Charges

Sardar Atma Singh, former Development Minister, Punjab, in a statement, has blamed the Prime Minister in not resolving the Punjab tangle and issuing wrong and false statement with regard to the demands put up by Shiromani Akali Dal and its President Sant Harchand Singh Longowal.

When the Janta party was in power in the Centre, the Akali Dal persuaded the then Prime Minister Shri Morarji Desai to reopen the river waters case and the award of the Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi given in 1976 was challenged in the Supreme Court when Sardar Parkash Singh Badal was Chief Minister in Punjab. The Prime Minister is responsible for thrusting her decision on Punjab and compelling the Punjab Chief Minister to sign that agreement in 1981 and further asked him to withdraw the case from the Supreme Court. Had the Prime Minister not compelled the Punjab Chief Minister to withdraw the river waters case from the Supreme Court, today the position would have been different one.

With regard to the transfer of Chandigarh and adjustment of other territorial claims and counter-claims were under discussion with Haryana Government, when the Prime Minister dissolved the Punjab Vidhan Sabha in 1980. Mrs. Indira

Gandhi is thus solely responsible for creating Punjab tangle and delaying settlement. The interests of her party are dearer to her than the interests of the country.

Sardar Atma Singh said that the Prime Minister is misleading the public, when she says that her efforts had been to fight injustice, but unfortunately when one demand was met another cropped up. She was never sincere to solve the Punjab tangle. Even the demands which are said to have been accepted by her, have not been implemented as yet. So much so that the terms of reference

of the Sarkaria Commission have not been finalised as yet.

I quite agree with the Prime Minister when she says: "Unless we are united we will not be able to help our brothers and sisters". But who is responsible for creating wedge, prolonging and delaying settlement of just and reasonable demands, which have been supported by the all peace-loving citizens of India and all the opposition parties.

The Prime Minister should read what is written on the wall. I would request her not to issue misleading statements and take immediate steps to solve the Punjab tangle. Instead of sending formulas and waiting the reaction of Shiromani Akali Dal, she should try to solve the Punjab issue within the Constitution of India and keeping in view the sentiments of a brave minority community.

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(Continued from previous page)  
to accept her decisions, in case of disagreement, as final and binding on all. Knowing her own predilections in favour of Haryana and Rajasthan, how could Akalis sign the death warrant of their beloved Punjab?

Agreed that no government would like to succumb to pressure or give impression of being weak-kneed. But then it is equally true that nothing in this country gets done unless a massive agitation is mounted.

The central government is labouring under a misconception if it thinks that the Morcha shall peter out into a fiasco. It is also incorrect that only a "handful of Sikhs" support the present struggle. So far more than 1,30,000 women and children have flocked to jails. This is more than twice the number of 60,000 persons who went to jail during the Quit India movement of 1942-45 from all over India.

About 1,15,000 men have pledged to do-or-die for the Panth and Punjab at Sant Longowal's call.

What more proof is needed that the Morcha has a solid backing of Sikh masses?

It is also supported by Punjabi intellectuals—Hindu, Sikh, Muslim and Christian and all parties in Punjab.

It would be better if New Delhi would catch time by the forelock and untie the Punjab skein before it is too late.

## The Spokesman directly Thirty Years Ago

27th May, 1953  
A Well Deserved Slap  
in 'Nationalist  
Sikhs' Face

(An Editorial)

Mr. Sachar in a recent pronouncement addressed to so-called 'Nationalist Sikhs', said some unvarnished truths which are as good as a lusty, mighty slap in the face of this peculiar species of creatures and a patent brand of humans. These delightful gentlemen were patted on the back by the seeming wise Premier of India when they collected some top-most careerists and opportunists, along with half penny (two penny hirelings and staged a mock-show in the Rakab Ganj). The careerists, anxious to curry favour with the Premier who has gifts of patronage in the hollow of his hands, beat their drums of self-trumpets to catch the eye of the mighty god. For a while it seemed that they had succeeded in exhibiting their self-importance to the New Delhi gods, thus preparing the ground for a rain of favours. While receiving a deputation of so-called Nationalist Sikhs, Mr. Sachar struck hard at them. Here are some of the hard things said by him.

In what respect are the Nationalist Sikhs different from other Sikh Congressmen is difficult for me to understand. Being Congressmen their economic programme and political ideology cannot be different from that of the Congress and as such they are bound to feel concerned about injustice wherever it is done regardless of religion or community to which the victim may belong.

There was no need for a Sikh who professed allegiance to the Congress to describe himself as nationalist Sikh. The nationalist Sikh was a good enough title. They could not fight narrow sectarianism, by broad outlook and appeal to the national interests.

My frank advice to you is, said the Chief Minister, that you should cease to describe yourself as such. Perhaps you have no distinctive organisation that if there be any I wonder if it has any effective membership. So far as I know occasionally some of Sikhs who owe allegiance to the Congress come together and start functioning as nationalist Sikhs.



## A THOUGHT FROM GURBANI

What powers have been I to describe Thy creation ?  
 What power have I to praise it (in appropriate words) ?  
 Whatever pleases Thee, that is best,  
 O, Thou Eternal, Abiding, Formless One !

—Guru Nanak

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## CAMPUS TRAGEDIES

Student indiscipline has been a malaise afflicting educational institutions throughout India. But two renowned universities have been scenes of events which send shudder of remorse and pain in everyone's veins.

Punjab Agricultural University at Ludhiana has witnessed two shooting incidents within the last four weeks; this is strange because it is usually the idle student, with no constructive interest in life, who enjoys participation in a gang war. The PAU has earned worldwide fame for its research and production of new varieties of high-yielding seeds of all crops, and its students have clear professional targets to pursue and should, thus have little time for gang wars or personal feuds.

On April 21 Sardar Piara Singh was killed following a gun fight. That his assailant, Ashok Kaushik, a brilliant sportsman himself, should have claimed the life of another sportsman was very saddening. Now comes the senseless killing of Sardar Prithipal Singh, an outstanding hockey player of international fame, which has been condemned by all, high and low, politicians and academicians. The only silver lining is that this latest crime is unconnected with the extremists now on rampage in Punjab and is simply the result of intra-union or student rivalries. Sardar Prithipal Singh, dean of student welfare at PAU, became target of attack as he was intent on stamping out campus violence by exposing and coming down heavily on anti-social elements in the university. Sometime back he had conducted a raid on a few hostels which led to a haul of weapons from rooms of Punjab Students Union activists. He was preparing to appear before Mahajan Commission, appointed to probe into violence at PAU, and is believed to have in his possession evidence which others did not want to be made known.

The way, in which students of Jawaharlal University in New Delhi went berserk, merely because a student was transferred from one hostel to another, and gheraoed the vice-chancellor and other highups, was disgraceful. The resultant interference by the police became inevitable. The mass jail break by JNU students and their earlier entry into prison under fictitious names last week betray an attitude of mind where violation of norms or even of law is treated as youthful fun and games.

Happenings in New Delhi and Ludhiana betray laxity in discipline and administration and undue tolerance of goonda elements masquerading as student politicians. The danger of politicisation of all institutions of higher learning by partisan and vested interests has to be fought with all the force and ingenuity at our command.

## NOTES AND COMMENTS

## Another Delay

A new spanner has been thrown into the execution of Thein dam project. The union finance ministry has written to Punjab government about centre's inability to commit any help or even "pose" the project for international financing. This volte-face makes no sense, especially when Prime Minister Indira Gandhi had publicly announced the project's clearance at the inauguration ceremony of Sutlej-Yamuna link canal near Karpuri village in Patiala district last year and when the planning commission, as a follow-up action, had asked the central ministries and other agencies concerned to "take necessary action in the area of their respective responsibilities". In other words, the finance ministry's hammer has reduced all decisions at the highest level into a pith and thrown them into the garbage heap.

Reasons for this about-turn are not clear to the naked eye. May be Mrs. Gandhi to alight the Akalis, as they were vociferous votaries of the project. Perhaps the centre wants to please Haryana and Rajasthan again, much to the detriment of Punjab. For long New Delhi had been insisting on prior agreement on sharing of water and power from the project among Punjab, Rajas-

than and Haryana before a green signal could be given. Punjab government's contention was that only two states, Himachal Pradesh and Jammu and Kashmir, were connected with the project, and it had already signed bilateral agreements on sharing the project costs and benefits with them. But New Delhi insisted on the "rights" of Rajasthan and Haryana without quoting any legal or constitutional authority in favour of its view. Punjab Chief Minister Darbara Singh must be a very disillusioned man, as he had talked of executing the project on a "war footing." Last year Rs. 22 crores was provided for it, of which Rs. 18 crores were actually spent.

Thein dam seems to have been haunted by a curse from the very beginning. Its blueprint was submitted by Punjab government way back in 1964 but it continued to gather dust in the murky corridors of central secretariat till last year. The cost has since risen from Rs. 67 crores to Rs. 680 crores now. The net result now is that Punjab will not be able to get 525 MW of power for many more years, and water worth Rs. 100 crores a year will continue to flow free to Pakistan. What a folly, my countrymen !

## Definitely Undignified

Quarrels between the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law and between the wife and her husband's sister are subjects of many folklores in Punjab replete with taunts, invectives and accusations. But their spread normally remained confined to the boundaries of the household, or, at the most, the village or the Mohalla concerned. But now the quarrel between Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and her daughter-in-law, Maneka, has been pushed on to the national and international stages; this should wrench the heart of every sane Indian, as thereby the prime minister's own image gets tarnished. What drove her to this desperation is beyond our conception.

The first international salvo was fired by Mrs. Gandhi in an interview with Arab News, published from Saudi Arabia. Then she said Maneka was "planted" in her family by conspiracy of powers inimical to her; she was against Maneka's marriage with her son, Sanjay, who was "wooed and made to marry". It was not a stray remark because she publicly reiterated her views at

a meeting of Congress (I) workers in Lucknow last week; she said the matter was no longer a domestic or family issue and called upon those, who knew the background of Sanjay's "strained relations with Maneka", to speak up.

The conspiracy theory of "planting" Maneka in her household is totally bizarre which makes everyone laugh at its stupidity; even if one were to suppose there was some truth in it, why did not the prime minister take steps to push out this "foreign agent" from her family or residence? Mrs. Gandhi also said Maneka did not dress like a widow and had donned the robe of a "suhagan" (married woman) within 10 days of Sanjay's tragic end. It is admitted that a mother's heart weeps over the departure of her son, but the main blow falls on the poor widow whose husband is snatched away; Maneka could not be an exception and was not one. The prime minister herself is a widow but has not retreated into a lonely place nor does she carry a black veil over her face or dress like a widow.



Akal Ustat is one of the finest compositions of Guru Gobind Singh. Its various portions have been written at different times but the underlying unity is also explicit and is clearly reflected in its spirit, its style and its thought pattern. It is composed in twelve units viz. *Swayya, Kabit, Choupai, Totak, Toman, Diragh, Tribhangi, Dohra, Naraj, Padhuri, Bhujangi, Proyat, Pua-mal and Laghu Naraj*. *Swayyas* are repeated twice. *Kabit* and *Padhuri Chhand* three times each. Each metre is to convey a certain mood, theme and situation. The luxuriant fluency and the musicalness of the vocabulary can be felt everytime when you go through it. Its different verses are full of pictures and images. Brevity and lucidity are the outstanding merits of this long poem. Guru Gobind Singh seems to be masterartist who uses words in such a way that they not only convey the idea but at the same time paint a picture and play a tune.

As the Akal Ustat is unique in its poetic qualities, so also it is unique for his thought-content. Guru Gobind Singh seems to be in tune with God, feels him and overtaken by the sense of wonderous realisation, dwells on his omnipresence, omnipotence and supreme nature. To him God is *Alakh*—beyond comp-

**The composition of Akal Ustat is many-splendoured, strong in diction, rich in poetic fancies, superb in imagery and sublime in thought content.**

rehension, *Anbhekh*—without hypocrisy, *Purakhjot*—Supreme flame, *Suchet*—Consciousness, *Sapahi*—Soldier, *Shaster Dhari*—Bearer of weapons, *Sarbloh*—All steel, *Akal* (the immortal), *Padma pati*—Lord of wealth, *Uma pati*—Lord of Uma, *Banwari* (Lord of Forest), *Sunder*—(Beautiful), *Agadh*—(unfathomable), *Ageh*—(intangible), *Gopal*—(cowherd), *Pratipal*—(cherisher), *Akal Purakh*—(immortal being), *Aneel*—(countless), *Atole*—(unweighable), *Abhang*—(unbreakable), *Achhed* (unpierceable), *Achheh*—imprishable), *Adi*—(beginning), *Anadi*—(without any beginning), *Ant*—(end of all), *Sarab ko kart* (creator of all), *Sarb ko Kal*—(destroyer of all), *Bishwahati*—(protector of the world), *Jagat Kal*—(destroyer of the world), *Anteryami*—(knowing everything of innermost), *Tahi*—(the soul beyond the original soul), *Sahib*—(lord).

In short, the Guru perceives Him in his many aspects; Personal, Impersonal. Material, and favour of God, they are

# AKAL USTAT

## Style and thought pattern

By : Prof. Surjit Singh Gandhi

Transcendental, Immanent, Metaphysical, Theistic, Aesthetical, Heroic. Struck by his all-comprehensiveness in all its dimensions, the Guru exclaims spontaneously 'Only Thou Art' and goes on to repeat the same for sixteen times.

In a state of oneness with God which can be denoted as a state of complete absorption in Him and complete realisation of Him, he, in a sweep, subjects to ridicule different rituals, penances, austerities and different paths as told by different sects in the country.

The Guru says:

'I have wandered and in their own homes seen crowds of Sarvagis, Sudhs, Sidhs, Jogis and Jatis.

Brave demons, demigods feasting on nectar and crowds of saints of various sects.

I have been the religions of all countries but none appeared to be that of Lord of Life.

Without a particle of love

myrmidons of death.

Fools utter names but know not their meanings and worship not Him by whom man is protected. (Akal Ustat—74)

The Guru bemoans that people have been made to believe that hypocrisy is a reality. The Jogis and other religious bodies are preaching untruth unabashedly. The Guru utters:

"What availth it to sit closing both eyes and meditating like a crane."

The world is lost, and the next for those who go about bathing in the seven seas.

They pass their lives in vain, dwelling in the midst of sin.

I speak verily; hear me all ye people—they who love God have obtained him (Akal Ustat—29)

The Guru has a pity for all those people who regard pilgrimages as one of the tangible means to achieve God. How can one going on pilgrimages and doing other acts of merit can attain the state of God-realisation till one bears God in mind? The Guru asks. Yogic fears and acts may evoke wonder but have no relevance to the spiritual regeneration of man. In this context, the Guru draws the attention of his disciples to the following:

The peacock dance, the frogs croak and the clouds ever thunder.

The tree even standeth on one leg in the forest, as for those who take not life, the Saravagi blowth on the ground before putting his feet on it.

The stones through several ages remain in one place. The ravens and the kites travel from country to country.

How can the poor fellow (the wretch) who is without divine knowledge and who is never absorbed in the great Benefactor be saved without faith in Him?

(Akal Ustat—81)

In the world contemporary to him the people had started thinking that the raising of different types of cries sawing of the body; drowning himself in the ganges are such acts which can get salvation. Guru denounces all these false practices. He asks the people to ponder. 'If raising a cry is a means to get soul bliss then how can we deny this status to a Jackal who yelps so many times a day in

cold season and the elephant and the donkey who utter various cries. Similarly he condemns the custom of getting ones body sawn at Banaras. The Guru says:

"What availth it to be cut in by the saw at Banaras? Thieves cut men in pieces and kill them with axes."

"What availth it that a fool hath put a halter round his neck and drowned himself in the Ganges?" (Akal Ustat—83)

The Guru also pronounces his denunciation of magical practices. He calls these '*Bharamjal*'—network of magical tricks. The Guru takes note of differences in magical practices debasing the innocent people and shares no pains to make them awake to the reality. Performing a miracle was an act of jugglery or make-believe according to his conceptual framework.

The Guru says:

"Swine eat filth, deer wander alone in the forest, trees ever die in silence", "owls live in tombs, deer wonder alone in forest, all children on earth drink milk, serpents live on air."

"They who eat grass and renounce the desire of wealth are no more than calves and oxen. They who fly in Heavens had only the attributes of birds, they who engage in meditation resemble cranes, cats and wolves." (Akal Ustat—72)

"Those who perform the 'newly' feat, who sacrifice to water, fire and wind who hold their heads down, who stand on one leg and never sit."

"Men, serpents, deities and demons find no God's secrets, the Veds and the book of the Muslims say that God is indescribable."

(Akal Ustat—72)

Readers of Veda, penitent like Shiva or the Sons of Brahman will also not comprehend Lord.

God can be known through right type of search and right type of Divine knowledge and right conduct.

There are always people who prove to be great hurdles on the path to soul-bliss and impose themselves on the people in such a way that they can't discover the path of righteousness. Such people are *Dusht*—(wrongdoers), *Asant*—(wicked), *Durjan*—(ignoble). They must be brought to right path and in this content force is also justified. In the contemporary society, such people were many and to reckon with them, God appeared to, the Guru, All-Steel, Mightiest of the mighty and a great Saviour. The Guru's sentiments of this type come to surface when in his invocation verse he says:



"May we have a protection of the immortal being.

May we have the protection of All-steel

May we have the protection of All-Death.

May we have the protection of All-Steel."

God has created all things living and non-living. He Himself feels that all the universe and this being so, all human beings are part of Him. Infact there is universal brotherhood of man. To create differences among them on the bases of caste, creed, race and religion tantamounts to acting against God's will. The Guru regards all human beings as children of the same father.

"All men have the same eyes, the same ears, the same body, the same built, a compound of earth, air, fire and water."

"By nature they are the same. It is only the outward appearance that they differ."

Deities, demons, yakshas, heavenly singers, Muslims and Hindus adopt customary dress of their country. They have also different modes of worship, though the object of their worship is the same, the one and the same God.

"The temple and mosque are the same; The Hindu Worship and Muslim Prayer are the same."

The Guru made this improvement in the previous idea that they declared the whole humanity to be one and that a man was to be honoured, not because he belonged to this or that caste or creed, but he was a man, an emanation of God whom God had given the same senses and the same soul as to other men.

"All men are the same although they appear same under different influences."

"The bright and the dark, the ugly and the beautiful, the Hindus and the Muslims have developed themselves according to the fashions of different countries."

"Allah Abekh are the same, the Puran and Guran are the same. They are alike";

"It is one God who created all."

Akal Ustat thus presents the Guru's point-of view about God, God-realisation, His self-realisation, Society as envisioned by his self-realised and God intoxicated self, the place of demons, deities different Avatars, magical practices, rituals, pilgrimages, charities, Yoga, idol worship, penances, austerities and different religious practices as preached by different sects in India. The composition is many-splendoured, strong in diction, rich in poetic fancies, superb in imagery and sublime in thought content.

## The Divine Master

One day people saw him going for a dip in the stream which ran past the town. Casting his garments upon the 'Shore of Life' Nanak plunged into the Infinite. He suddenly disappeared and was taken as drowned. "He must have misappropriated both provisions and proceeds, and being afraid of the consequence must have put an end to his life," the gossip-mongering tongues lashed out in support of their seemingly commendable prudence, which unfortunately for them, did not appeal of the Nawab's righteous mind.

The waters of the river were combed. Divers were pressed into service. Search parties were organised, but to no avail. In fact hope faded, dwindled and was lost altogether.

At the end of the third day, Nanak reappeared on the scene to the unending joy of the sorrowing citizens of Sultanpur. But he was now a completely changed man with a divine glory on his face and luminous halo around the head. Crowds gathered around him. He was not Nanak now, but Guru Nanak—The Divine Master, the World-Teacher. The call had come, the much awaited call! Now he was to go forth into the world as the Divine Messenger to extirpate the agonies of a million furrowed brows and innumerable groping hearts lost in the wilderness of a dark, decadent world.

Nanak had had a vision of the Infinite. The vision had thrilled him:

"I was a minstrel of the Lord out of work,  
The Lord gave me His appointment.

Thus spake Great God unto me

Night and day, sing ye my praises!

The Lord did summon this minstrel

To His most Exalted Court.

On me He bestowed the robe of honour of those who sing His glory,

On me He bestowed the Nectar in a cup,

The Nectar of His Eternal Holy Nam.

Those who at the bidding of the Guru

Feast and take their fill

Of the Lord's Holiness

Attain Peace and Joy.

Thy minstrel spreadeth Thy glory

By singing Thy Word;

Nanak, by adoring the Truth

We attain to the All-

Highest."

When Nanak came out of water, the words that were on his lips, were: "There is no Hindu, no Musalman", meaning thereby that there is to be no distinction between man and man. 'Hindu' and 'Muslim' are our names for the 'Mask', behind the mask is 'Man'. Nanak realized the unity of Hindus and Muslims in the Man universal. Nanak's was the religion of Man. The emphasis, in his message, was not on rituals, ceremonies and dogmas, but on life, on love of God and right action.

Nanak rose above philosophy and metaphysics above rites and rituals, above creeds and conventions, above all nation-cults and all race-gospels to a vision of the deeds of love. "God will not

ask man", said Nanak "Of what race and religion he belongs to. He will but ask him 'What have you done?' Deeds, not creeds, is what Nanak asked of his disciples. Nanak preached a religion for which men would live, a religion which would illuminate lives, a religion of love, service and sacrifice. Nanak's vision of life embraced all countries and all races and all times.

As Nanak had declared that there was no Hindu, no Musalman, the Qazi of Sultanpur was furious. He said, "The Hindus may not be the Hindus, but we Muslims say our prayers five times during the day and we are truly Muslims." He then called for an explanation from the Guru for his remarks. Thus spoke Guru Nanak:

"Five prayers thou sayest five times a day

With five different names, But if Truth be thy first prayer,

The second to honestly earn your daily bread,

The third to share thy bread with others in the name of God,

Purity of mind be thy fourth prayer

And adoration of God thy fifth;

If thou practiseth these five virtues,

And good deeds be thine Kalma—the article of faith,

Then thou can't call thyself truly a Muslim.

By mere hypocrisy Nanak, A man is deemed false through and through."

As Nanak had pronounced that all men were the same and there was to be no distinction between man and man, thereupon the Qazi prevailed upon the Nawab to ask Nanak to participate in the Namaz in the mosque. Guru Nanak accepted the invitation, but he stood silent during their prayer and did not join the drill of the Namaz with the congregation. The Qazi was angry and asked the Nawab to call for an explanation.

Guru Nanak's reply, however, stunned the Qazi, the Nawab and the public alike.

"How could I follow the Qazi," said the Guru, "whose body was in prayer, but whose mind was anxiously looking after the new born filly that it might not jump into the well in his courtyard and Nawab's mind too was busy planning to buy horses in Kabul. Both of you were absent-minded all the while, when you were saying your prayer, so how could I follow you?"

"It is a wonder", the Nawab cried aloud to the Qazi, "thou seest not, Khuda (God) speaketh to us through Nanak?"





By virtue of its size and legacy, India has emerged as a major centre of scholarly and scientific activity in the third world. After the U.S. and Britain, this country publishes the largest number of books in English language. This is natural because the reading public in India is extremely large and the number of students studying at various levels phenomenal.

With all this, there is hardly any reason to be happy with the situation which is indeed far from satisfactory. This is so because while India has ceased to be a colony in the political and economic sense, in the intellectual sense it is still very much of a colony. Most of the knowledge is produced elsewhere and imported into India. In the economic field, India is much more self-reliant than it used to be till a few decades ago. However, in other fields of intellectual activity reliance on the West, especially the Anglo-Saxons, continues.

### Obvious Reasons

There are two obvious reasons for this state of affairs. The first is the neocolonial hangover from which the vast majority of the educated public suffers. Secondly—and this is no less

**With a very small percentage of knowledge being generated within the country, India has no choice but to turn to knowledge being generated elsewhere.**

important than the first—there is an utter absence of intellectual perspective on the part of those entrusted with the responsibility to frame policy. The two reasons, more over, interact with and reinforce each other. By now a situation has been reached in which knowledge is being priced out of India's reach.

The inflation of the seventies has wrought havoc on intellectual and economic life in this country. A decade ago, one could walk into a bookshop and buy a couple of books without much difficulty. The price of an average imported paperback then was around Rs. 15. But now it has jumped to Rs. 50. Rare is a hard cover book which can be had for less than Rs. 100. No wonder those genuinely interested in books and reading feel thwarted and frustrated.

In such a situation the obvious alternative is to turn to a library. But libraries too are feeling the pinch of inflationary pressures. Library budgets have been overtaken by the escalating prices of books. As if this was not bad enough, the number of libraries to which the general

public has or can have access has not kept pace with demand. And such libraries as exist are not properly serviced. The upshot, therefore, is that those who are interested in books find it more and more difficult to have access to them.

Academic libraries are in no better shape than the public ones. While the number of students has been increasing, the outlay on purchase of books has not been keeping pace. Some four or five years ago, (with the beginning of the sixth Plan) there was a severe cut in library budgets. It is only now that libraries are beginning to recover that shock and receiving more funds. But there is no certainty about what will happen tomorrow. All this, in turn, has thrown local publishing also out of gear.

The point at issue, however, is not the plight of the indigenous publishing industry but the situation in respect of access to knowledge whether at the general level or at the scholarly and scientific level. With a very small percentage of knowledge

being generated within the country, India has no choice but to turn to knowledge being generated elsewhere. The primacy of English within the country makes India unavoidably dependent on the U.S. and the U.K. In any case, 40 per cent of the books being published in the world today are being published in English. This can be said to be a factor in favour of India. But this assessment too needs qualification.

For the situation was truly favourable only till the beginning of the seventies in so far as books and journals could then be imported relatively easily and the prices were within the reach of an average reader as well as the libraries, both public and academic. Since then things have deteriorated from this country's point of view.

When a new book is published, the decision to import that book is not made by the reader who does not generally know that a particular book has been published but by the importers or the booksellers. If, in their judgment, 25 copies of a particular title would be sold, they

would import only a dozen copies. This is for the reason that even one or two unsold copies would mean a substantial amount of capital being locked up. The booksellers are interested in quick turnover, and this can be best ensured by creating a situation of scarcity. Consequently unless an alert reader is in the habit of visiting bookshops frequently, he is likely to miss several of the titles in which he might be keenly interested because any book in demand but in short supply is bound to be sold.

One need not be unduly upset at this situation. Booksellers are there to sell their books and make profit. If this is how they can make profit they would do it, whether anyone likes it or not. But there is another aspect of the problem which has virtually destroyed the book trade in India as it existed even a quarter century ago.

Stocking of books is becoming more expensive in America and Britain. Therefore most of the publishers there usually liquidate their stocks within two years. In simple words, if a title gets sold out within the first year or so, well and good; otherwise it is likely to be sold at throwaway prices a little later.

This phenomenon, which has become a marked feature of the book trade in these countries, has proved to be a boon for those enterprising Indian importers who can manage to buy the British and American remainders sometimes at 5 or 10 per cent of the original price. Instances are not unknown where a book, originally priced \$ 25, has been bought in the foreign market at half a dollar and exported to India at \$ 5 and sold here at \$ 8 or 9! It is difficult to quantify such books. But it would be no exaggeration to say that between one-fourth and one-third of the books imported into India fall under this category.

A number of other difficulties also arise. Most of them stem from the basic fact that knowledge is generated elsewhere and imported into India. This is only another way of saying that our universities and research institutes should perform better. The moment one says this, it becomes immediately clear that one has bitten off more than one can chew. To make the universities function as seats of higher learning is a task bristling with extraordinary difficulties. In any event so many factors enter into the

functioning of universities that no single step will take care of the total situation.

But there is one aspect of the problem which has not yet been given much attention and that is the catalytic role of publishing in generating and disseminating new knowledge. Publishers by themselves cannot do anything to generate new knowledge but they can certainly act as a pressure group in the desirable sense of the expression. For example, once a scholar or a teacher agrees to write a book on a subject, the publisher usually follows up the matter with him provided he feels that the sales would be brisk and returns good. This is something which no other agency can or will do.

### Action and Reaction

It is in this sense that the generation of knowledge (represented by universities and research institutes) and the dissemination of knowledge (represented by publishers and booksellers) can act and react on each other.

The reading public can be reached only through publishing and the reading public, in turn can encourage the author by buying his books. The world of scholarship and the world of publishing are thus inextricably bound to each other.

However, the point to ponder is that with prices escalating as fast as they are and the bulk of knowledge having to be imported from outside, a dangerous situation is likely to arise. For, excepting those who have special resources at their command (for instance, being able to go abroad), knowledge will be unavailable to the bulk of people. Or it would be available in a rather watered down version. We already see evidence of this in the third-rate publishing that goes on in the country.

Our failure so far to have a national book policy should be viewed in this context. In regard to universities, we have defaulted by our failure to implement even the prescribed policies. But the relevant structure are there—the UGC, the ICAR, the Indian Medical Council and so on.

As for publishing, even the necessary structures do not exist. We only have a pretence of them. This may be owing to bureaucratic indifference or worse. An equally important explanation is that we have not yet given publishing the importance it deserves.

# National Book Policy Needed

By : Dr. Amrik Singh

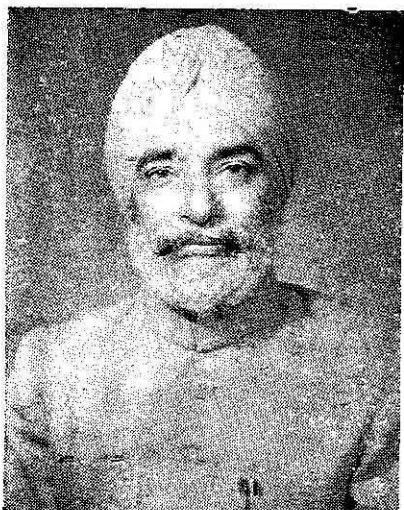


**BHARAT SCOUTS AND GUIDES****Principal Lakshman Singh Elected National Commissioner****First Punjabi to get highest honour**

Principal Lakshman Singh of Bombay has been elected as National Commissioner, Bharat Scouts and Guides, India, for a three-year term (1983-86) by the National Council at its meeting held recently in New Delhi.

This is the first time that a Sikh and a Punjabi has been conferred this highest honour in the scouts and guides movements. Formerly, he was Chief Commissioner (Scouts) of India.

As leader-trainer of rare distinction, he is sure to generate a new ethos and reorient drastically the scouts and guides practices.



Sardar Lakshman Singh has been associated with the scout movement for about six decades since 1924 and has worked in multiple capacities as patrol leader, scoutmaster, leader trainer and commissioner at various levels.

He was elected as state chief commissioner, Maharashtra, the highest executive post in the state, in 1967 and worked in that capacity for about 12 years. He organised during his tenure of office the VI national jamboree in Bombay. He also worked as adviser from 1972 to 1976.

Before Partition, he was the head of six educational institutions in Karachi, Sind, and had the privilege of being president of the state association of heads of secondary and multipurpose educational institutions continuously for two terms.

Sardar Sahib worked as state commissioner, Sind and organised scout guide mela at Karachi in 1946 wherein about 10,000 scouts and guides participated from all over the country.

After moving to Bombay in 1947, he got started the Guru Nanak Vidyak Society which is now running about two dozen institutions. He worked as overall executive head of these institutions as general secretary of the society till 1972 when government of Maharashtra requisitioned his services as Advisor to the State Govern-

ment. Sardar Lakshman Singh went through the Wood Badge Course—the highest qualifying training in scouting, first at Sitlakhet in 1939 and again, with distinction, at the then International Training Centre at Gilwell Park, U.K., in 1951.

He was unanimously elected President of Bombay Association of Heads of Secondary and multi-purpose institutions during their Silver Jubilee celebrations which were presided over by the then President of India, Dr. Rajendra Prasad.

He assisted, at the invitation of the government of Nepal in 1952, in conducting at Kathmandu, the first ever Scout Leaders Training Course, as a step forward introducing scouting in that country.

He was chairman of committee on "Adult Leadership in Scouting and Guiding" constituted by the national headquarters in 1961 at the instance of the then national commissioner, late Dr. H N. Kunzru.

Sardar Lakshman Singh led Indian delegation to the Asia Pacific regional conference held in Rangoon (Burma) in 1953 and represented the national association at the three World scout conferences held in Europe (1951), in U.S.A. (1967) and in U.K. (1979).

He also led contingents to the world jamborees in Austria and Idaho (U.S.A.) and travelled widely in Sri Lanka, Burma, Philippines, Japan, Europe, U.K. and U.S.A., studying trends in education and youth development programmes.

He was conferred by the Indian government the coveted National Award in 1963 in recognition of his services of outstanding merit in the field of education.

He is also the recipient of the scouts and guides movement's highest award in the country—the Silver Elephant—for his meritorious services of the most exceptional character.

Sardar Lakshman Singh was appointed Justice of Peace in 1965 through 1974 and again worked as special executive magistrate.

And last year in April the world scout bureau invited him as guest participant to the Asia-Pacific region staff management conference held in Manila.

**The former Ace Hockey Olympian****PRITHIPAL SINGH****An intellectual Among Sportsmen**

Prithipal Singh, the former ace hockey Olympian and Dean of Student Welfare in the Punjab Agriculture University, Ludhiana was shot dead by unidentified assailants in the university campus on May 20.

The assailants fired from close range as Prithipal Singh was parking his motorcycle outside the administrative block. The first bullet hit him in the head and he fell down. The assailants fired another shot before running away.

Prithipal Singh was taken to the hospital where he was declared dead.

To Prithipal Singh, life was a crusade, a constant struggle to overcome the mean and meaningless.

Ever since he came on the national scene in 1957 as a right full back of outstanding merit till his exit after the debacle in the Olympic Games at Mexico in 1968, the impediments he had to surmount were far too many. Lesser mortals would have given up but Prithipal Singh survived crisis after crisis by sheer strength of his character.

In his heyday, Prithipal Singh was a full back nonpareil. He added a new dimension to the conversion of penalty corners, and the power he generated from the steely wrists was a despair of the goal-keepers.

Prithipal Singh, it must be admitted, threw in his chosen field by the relaxation of the "sticks rule", which, however was reimposed after the Olympic Games in Tokyo where Prithipal Singh proves his proficiency in no uncertain terms. That he played a leading role in India regaining the Gold Medal cannot be denied.

Tall, erect and stern looking, Prithipal Singh was rugged, but hardly looked the genial person that he was. He played the game in the right spirit and refused to be provoked even when the situation looked like warranting it.

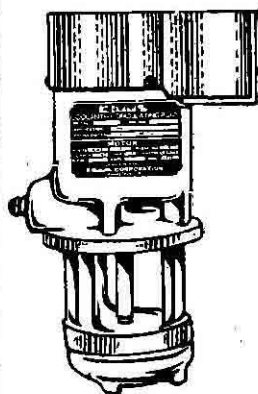
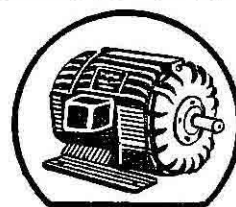
Prithipal Singh's international career which began with a tour of East Africa in 1959 spanned three

Asian Games (1958, 62, 66) and three Olympics (1960, 64, 68) and a host of international tournaments, the most noteworthy of which being the one at Hamburg in 1966 where he led India for the first time.

For all the seeming indifference, Prithipal Singh was a man of firm convictions. He had strong views on many issues and never compromised on them. For a brief period, he was in the selection committee of the IHF. He was also the Secretary of the Punjab Hockey Association, but could not work effectively in the face of a strong dissident group and spent much of his energy in litigation.

Holder of a Master's Degree in Agriculture, Prithipal Singh, after a turbulent period in Punjab Police, and Northern Railway, was attracted to education and took up in an academic position in the Agricultural University in Ludhiana. He showed a penchant for student welfare. He felt that the youngsters had lost their sense of values and direction and was appalled by the abuse of drugs and alcoholism in the campus, not to speak of violence.

Ironically, an intellectual among sportsmen, Prithipal Singh, was consumed by violence. He was the first recipient of the Arjuna Award in 1962.

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## Letters to the Editor

### "Importance of intellect in Sikh Dharam"

Sir, With reference to the article "Importance of Intellect in Sikh Dharam" (Spokesman, May 16), I have the following observations to make in order to clarify the true concept of Gurmat:

It has been stated that the "Sikh Gurus have given top-most importance to intelligence, understanding and knowledge" and that "a person who does not possess qualities of awareness, knowledge, intelligence and education is like the most stupid beast i.e. ass." These are no doubt admirable qualities which every one should try to possess in order to make life progressive and meaningful. That is why in the Sikh liturgy, kirtan is followed by katha every day in the Gurdwaras. But these qualities cannot be described, in themselves, to be of topmost importance in Gurmat. It is the sincere and constant devotion ('saram') towards self-realisation and above all the Almighty God's grace ('karam') which have to top our endeavours. Otherwise, intellectual and mental qualities alone will tend to raise a wall of ego between man and God. Gurbani has clearly warned "Parheya Murakh Akheya Jis Lab Lobh Ahankar" (the so-called worldly educated person—more than the simple man of faith

and devotion is apt to act foolishly because he is afflicted by a sense of attachment, greed and ego). Even our intelligence sometimes leads us astray as depicted at several places in Gurbani. It has to be kept untarnished through constant prayers. "Akli Parh ke Bujhea" (to seek realisation after gaining worldly knowledge) has, therefore, to be a Sikh's aim in life.

Again, mere equating of hukam with God's power ('shakti') will not lead us to a correct understanding of Gurmat philosophy. A Sikh is not required by his Guru to be a *sakat* (worshipper of *shakti*) but remain a *hukmi banda*. Hukam (or higher still 'Raza') is God's supreme unquestioned. Will which is above all physical, chemical or natural laws which themselves are. His own creation. We have to realise our self through submission to that Divine Will by weeding out falsehood and unhappiness from our life.

Let us, therefore, by all means develop our intelligence, knowledge and understanding but at the same time beware of their inherent limitations.

—Joginder Singh, M.A.  
New Delhi-110057.

### Not A Nationalist Government

Sir, For the Panjab tangle, Mr. Girilal Jain, (*The Times of India*), has put all the blame on the Akalis, who represent the Sikh Panth—the Sikhs in the Congress are not the representatives of the Sikhs.

Firstly, it is wrong to compare Sikhs with Jews. The case of these two nations is quite different. The Jews, scattered all over the world had no place they could call it their home, and a home had to be found for them. As for the Sikhs they have the Punjab as their homeland—for that matter the whole of India is their homeland, where the younger brother (Sikhs) want to lead an honourable life—the basis of the present struggle on their part. At the present the majority community, intoxicated with the power fallen into their hands out of the blues, finds it difficult to have rational thinking and is victim of prejudice and communalism—this, it is hoped, will mitigate if not vanish absolutely in the due

course of time. It is because of their prejudice and communal thinking that the Panjabi Hindus have denied Panjabi as their mother-tongue—no other instance of such an out and out lie, can be found in any other part of the world. Because of this a truncated Panjabi Suba has been carved. If the Sikhs are in a slight majority in this state, the Panjabi Hindus have themselves to blame for it. In the other hand, had a proper Panjabi-speaking state been formed, the Hindus would have been in a majority in such a state also. From this one is compelled to deduce that if Panjabi Hindus are not faithful to their own mother-tongue and their state, it is very difficult to expect them to be faithful to bigger, i.e. national issues.

As regards the Hindu fears in the Panjab, this is baseless. Why should the all powerful Hindus be afraid of a people who form only 2% of the country's population? Perhaps,

it is the force of habit that keeps them crying even when no damage is being done to them. On the other hand, these are the minority communities such as Muslims, Sikhs, Christians, etc. whose very existence is being threatened in one form or the other. As for the Sikhs, their fears, that they might be assimilated with the Hindus, for which subtle methods are being used, are genuine. As such the Sikhs are perforce required to fight against this. What has happened to the Muslims in Assam and at various other places in the country, might not happen to the Sikhs also.

Under such circumstances to call India a secular state does not hold good. This ideal may have been inculcated in the Constitution, but what is happening in practice is quite to the contrary. All the thinking, actions, framing of rules and regulations clearly show the communal tinge of the powers that be. The reduction of the numbers of the Sikhs in the country's armed forces is another example of the communal thinking of the authorities. As such there is no question of the Akalis pushing around the Union Government towards compromising its "secular character".

### Sikhism is not a part of Hinduism

Sir, While Chaudhri Charan Singh may have his views whether Sikhs should or should not be recognised as a minority community, he has expressed certain views on Sikhism which have to be contradicted.

Sikhism is no part of Hinduism. For Sikhs it is not a question of interpretation but of the commandments of the Guru Granth Sahib.

He has called Guru Gobind Singh a devotee of Bhagwati. He is the tenth in line of Gurus. Says he himself: "I am not an idol worshipper; nor would I pay obeisance to anyone except God; nor would I create intermediaries for this purpose." (Bachhitar Natak). He (Charan Singh) seems to consider that Guru Gobind Singh is neither true to the teachings of his predecessors, whose tenth light he is, nor to his own words and thoughts!

He has also been misled by an essential difference in Hindu and Sikh thinking. What Sikhs regard as rich mythology to be drawn upon for literary purposes, Hindus think of as a part of their religion. Here our Hindu friends mix their own religious beliefs with literary flourishes.

Chaudhri Charan Singh has also said the Sikhs were created for protecting Hinduism. He has not specifically said so but

To call only the few Sikhs working with the Congress as "nationalists" is wrong use of the word. The Sikhs in general are more nationalists than any other community in the country. Their sacrifices for the motherland are far greater than the majority community, but strange, its fruits are being reaped by the latter. Even now, no Sikh is known to have given away national secrets to foreigners, which cannot be said of the members of the majority community. The Sikhs have defended the frontiers and the honour of the country; in the West, they are the real hurdle against any attack from Pakistan.

Finally, the trouble in Assam and Punjab is the creation of the Congress party, a party that believes in the policy of divide and rule, as if it was ruling a foreign country. The party realises that if there was unity among the Sikhs and the Panjabi Hindus, the Congress could never hope to rule in the Panjab. And a Government which believes in creating discord among its citizens cannot be called a nationalist government.

—Lt-Col. Gulcharan Singh  
Jalandhar (Retd.)

he seems to think that there is now no need for it. The creation of Sikhism owes its origin to Guru Nanak and the line he laid down for its development. Until Guru Hargobind there was no question of protection. It is after the Hindus of Lahore martyred Guru Arjan Dev that Sikhs took up sword against tyranny. They defended everyone who was confronted with tyranny including Hindus. They also defended themselves against Hindu tyranny, Guru Gobind Singh's first detractors after the creation of Khalsa were Hindu Rajas of the hills who joined the Mughals to try to eliminate the Guru and his Khalsa.

—Indarjit Singh

New Delhi-110048.

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## Punjab Newsletter

# PUNJAB DEADLOCK

By : Sardar Bharpur Singh, Chandigarh

No indication, no signs are visible that the solution of the Punjab tangle is in sight. It is reported in the press that the Prime Minister can solve the Punjab's problem and she will not have time enough at her disposal to attend to the negotiations which have to take place between the Akali leaders and the Central leaders. No Central Ministers' group can solve and take decision on the demands which Akalis have formulated in very clear terms and which have been discussed for a number of times and which stand deadlocked at present.

The press has more than clearly said that the Home Minister Mr. P.C. Sethi's statement that a negotiated settlement with the Akalis will be concluded by June 17th—the day fixed by the Akali dictator for launching a state-wide agitation—is not likely to take place. The Prime Minister—the only one who can break the deadlock is currently grappling with the J & K elections which are to take place on June 5—three days later she will leave on a 12-day tour of some of the European countries. She has no time for attending to the Punjab problems except in the last week of June 1983. The Akali leaders cannot and will not postpone the struggle which is to start on June 17 and for which "Do & Die" volunteers are being put under training at Anandpur Sahib. It appears that the Centre is ready for another duel with the Akalis the magnitude of which cannot be foreseen or imagined.

Meanwhile, other political parties—prominently the B.J.P. are also pressing for holding a tripartite conference immediately. The B.J.P. leaders of the Punjab have time and again pressed for the solution of the Punjab problem by the acceptance of the Akali demands which the Hindu leadership now support without reservation. The present prominent demands which need to be settled and accepted in toto are in the interest of the entire Punjab. The Punjab Chief Minister Sardar Darbara Singh has also supported them negating the claim of the Haryana Chief Minister.

It appears to the Punjab public that the Centre is more

inclined to show (undue) favours to Haryana at the expense of Punjabis. The Akali leaders are determined to have their demands which concern the welfare of the prosperity of the entire Punjab accepted at whatever cost it may be. The government, it is believed, depends upon its power and strength to control and suppress the Akali 'do & die' campaign. Only the future events will show at what cost.

### A Bid to End Deadlock

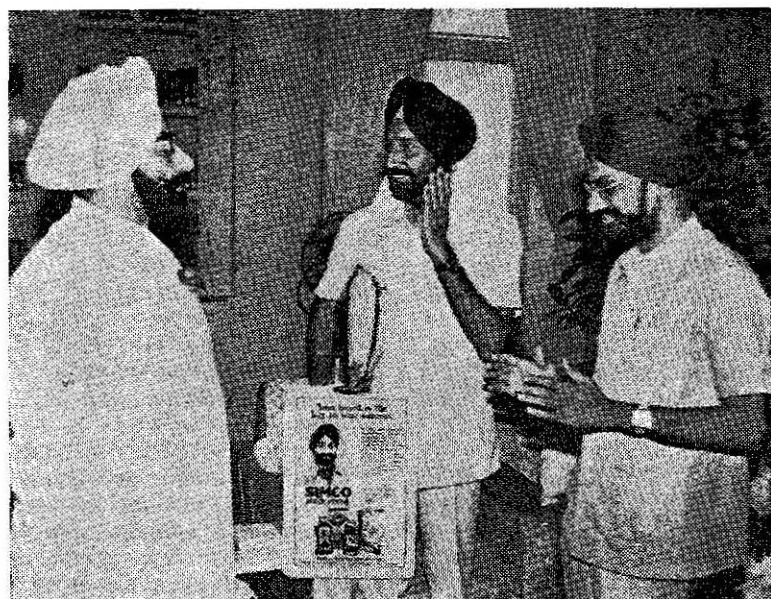
The Janta Party are taking an initiative to end the present Punjab deadlock. It is said that accepting the suggestion of the Janta Party leaders, Sant Harchand Singh Longowal has acceded to convene a meeting of the opposition parties at the Akali Dal headquarters to find an amicable solution to the lingering Punjab tangle.

Mr. George Fernandes, M.P., Mr. S. Shahabuddin, General Secretary of the Janta Party and some other leading M.P.s. took part in the discussions with the Sant on the Punjab situation and how to solve it. The Sant, the Janta Party leaders have said, has given a positive response to their suggestion to hold a meeting of opposition leaders.

The Janta Party, the B.J.P., the Communist parties, in fact, all the parties which attended official sponsored tripartite meetings, will join with the Akali leaders to discuss and support their demands. The Punjab problem has been accepted as a national problem.

The Punjab Unit of the B.J.P. has passed a resolution in its meeting held in Jullundur on the May 21, saying that the government is not serious about solving the Punjab tangle. The resolution has also alleged that the Patiala incidents were engineered by the Congress (I) workers. Dr. Baldev Parkash, President of the Punjab unit of the B.J.P. told newsmen at Jullundur on May 21, that the abrupt ending of the tripartite talks was conclusive proof of the Centre's delaying tactics.

The entire Punjab is anxiously awaiting a peaceful solution of the Punjab's unrest. The Hindu janta, political and non-political support the reasonable



Sardar Kuldip Singh, managing director of Simla Chemicals (Pvt.) Ltd., (seen right in the photograph)—the manufacturers of famous "Simco" hair fixer called on President Giani Zail Singh recently.

demands of the Akalis in respect of the restoration of Chandigarh to Punjab river waters dispute to be referred to a Supreme Court Judge—serving or retired, restoration of Punjabi-speaking areas at village level to Punjab, retention of Fazilka and Abohar in Punjab.

### Why Delay ?

The Punjab public and the Punjab press in particular and all India press in general fail to understand why the Prime Minister is delaying the acceptance of these demands which are supported by non-Sikh political parties. The Punjab leaders say that the Prime Minister is bent upon in showing undue favours to Haryana. An artificial agitation to back the Haryana's alleged share in the waters of Punjab river has been started at the instance of those who are secretly and strictly opposed to the Akali demands and Punjab's prosperity.

### Sikh Lawyers

Sikh lawyers from various parts of Punjab at a conference held in Chandigarh on May 22, unanimously resolved to extend all help to Akali Dal's Morcha for the acceptance of its demands including those contained in the Anandpur Sahib resolution.

The meeting had been organised by the Punjab Sikh lawyers association and it had been largely attended. Major General Jaswant Singh Bhullar and Dr. Sohan Singh as special invitees addressed the meeting.

The demand for the Akali leaders meeting with the Central leaders is growing and the delay will only cause unrest with all its consequences.

## Golden Jubilee of Mira Movement Celebrated

The Golden Jubilee of the Mira Movement in Education, founded by Sadhu T.L. Vaswani in 1933, was celebrated at the Ball Hall of Hotel Indonesia, Jakarta, where the elite of the town were present, including Mr. O.P. Malhotra, Ambassador of India, Mr. S.H. Padja, Director General, Bimas Hindu/Buddha Dept., and the Ambassador of Egypt.

Dada J.P. Vaswani spoke on "Man and Education" and said :—"What the nations need today is a man-making, a character-building education which may teach the students to live not for themselves alone but also to help the depressed and the down-trodden."

A play "The Angel's Meet" and a tableau on Sadhu T.L. Vaswani were enacted on the stage. The documentary film on Sadhu T.L. Vaswani, produced by the Government of India was also screened.

During his stay at Jakarta, Dada J.P. Vaswani also inaugurated a weekly Sadhu Vaswani Satsang. Speaking on the occasion, Dada J.P. Vaswani said :—"A Satsang is incomplete if it does not extend a helping hand to those in need. Every human being is a living, moving temple of God. To serve them, is to worship God."

An important item in the programme of the Sadhu Vaswani Satsang will be to pay periodical visits to Orphanages, Homes for the Aged, and the Handicapped, and Schools for the Blind.



## Social, Literary and Cultural Activities in Capital

## Promotion Of Punjabi Culture

By : Sardar Piara Singh, M.A.

With the establishment of Punjabi Academy in the Capital, those engaged in promotion of Punjabi culture feel encouraged and patronised. Even certain philanthropists are showing interest to cooperate in organising Punjabi functions.

Punjabi Kala Kendra (Regd.) which had been founded by late Shri Balraj Sahni in Bombay had been active in Chandigarh with the cooperation of Sardar H.S. Bhatti and Dr. Harcharan Singh. The organisation opened a Branch in New Delhi last week with Sardar Raja Singh of Texla Television and Sarbh Sanjhi Gurbani fame as patron. A special function was organised at Kamani Hall with the initiative of Sardar Bahadur Singh of 3 H.O.

The programme opened with a Shabad. Speaking on the occasion, Sardar Harcharan Singh Josh said that Punjabi culture was lively one and the impact of its folk music and folk lore had been felt by all whether in India or abroad. He narrated an incident that while in Bulgaria he witnessed how a gathering of 3 lac people was

bewitched by the performance of Punjabi Bhangra. He thanked the chief guest Shri Jag Parvesh Chandra, Chief Executive Councillor, who in turn recalled his association with Shri Balraj Sahni since his college days and said that the Punjabis have a proud place in Delhi. He disclosed that he is the first Punjabi who in 1952 raised voice in Delhi Assembly for the development of Punjabi language and culture in Delhi as lakhs of Punjabi refugees came to Delhi for permanent settlement after the partition.

Others who graced the occasion included Sardar Tarlochan Singh, Deputy Press Secretary to the President, Sardar Indarjit Singh President, and Sardar Avtar Singh Sethi, General Secretary of Punjabi Cultural Federation and Sardar Amarjit Singh Kohli of Yuv Kala Manch. The programme entitled 'MATAK HULARE' included songs and dances with rural impact accompanied with instruments like *Alhoze*, *Chimta*, *Iktara*, *Kato*, *Dholak* etc.



In the photo left to right are Sardar Avtar Singh Sethi, Shri Jag Parvesh Chandra, Sardar Indarjit Singh Chhabra, Sardar Ajit Singh, Sardar Tarlochan Singh, Principal Giani Surjan Singh, Sardar Raja Singh and Sardar Bahadur Singh.

## Role of Humour in Punjabi Poetry

"There are many *rasas* in life and all play important role in their own sphere. In a community which is chivalrous *Bir ras* is predominant but humour and laughter has its own importance", said Union Minister Shri Vasant Sathe. He added that he had been much impressed by the life of Guru Gobind Singh, Shiva Ji and Maharana Pratap who sacrificed everything for an avowed cause.

Shri Vasant Sathe was inaugurating *Lok Rang Haas Ras*

Kavi Darbar convened by Sardar Tara Singh Kamal, and Prof. Harmeet Singh at Constitution Club. With Raja Inder Singh as Chairman, Reception Committee, the function was presided over by Sardar Ajit Singh Khurana. Kamal decried the low standard of performance by certain organisations and stressed that there had been a need for presenting cultural shows of high standard. Since laughter is the spice of life, *Haas Ras Kavi Darbar* entertains people and soothes tensed nerves.

Poets like Hari Singh Dilbar,

Ram Narain Singh Dirdi, Sansar Singh Gharib, Sadhu Singh Dard, Tara Chand Azad participated. The function opened with a humorous song by Suman Anand.

## AIR &amp; TV

The talk on 'Gurbani and Integration' by Sardar Avtar Singh Bagga, General Manager, Punjab & Sind Bank had been illuminating as the speaker quoted verses to support his arguments.

This Sunday was the turn of the sponsored programme of *Sarva Sanjhi Gurbani* by Texla TV. The programme included Shabad by Bhai Sahib Sohan Singh Rasia and his party. Listeners generally feel that this programme should be telecast every Sunday.

## All-round progress by Oriental Bank of Commerce

Oriental Bank of Commerce has achieved a marked all-round growth in 1982 with a high rate of deposit mobilisation, credit deployment, disbursement to the priority sector and branch expansion.

Deposits of the bank increased by Rs. 91.03 crores to Rs. 487.35 crores showing a growth of 22.97 per cent against 13.9 per cent for the banking industry as a whole during 1982. In the past six years, the bank's deposits have recorded a spectacular rise from Rs. 109 crores in 1976 to Rs. 487 crores in 1982. By 1983 the bank plans to cross the Rs. 1000 crore mark in deposits.

The bank's total credit expanded by Rs. 41.60 crores to Rs. 265.24 crores at the end of 1982. The priority sector's share was 34.26 per cent at Rs. 90.87 crores in 1982. The bank is striving to reach the target of over 37 per cent in priority sector advances by 1983 end and of 40 per cent by 1985.

During 1982, the bank added 23 branches, taking the total to 386. Of these 261 (67.6 per cent) are located in rural and semi-urban areas. Thirty new branches are proposed to be opened during the current year.

The bank's gross profit has risen sharply to Rs. 7.05 crores in 1982 from Rs. 4.39 crores in 1981. After provisions, the net profit is Rs. 63.84 lakhs against Rs. 55.36 lakhs.

## Tea Board Chief

Mr Jagdish Chander Khattar has assumed charge as chairman of the Tea Board of India succeeding Mr B. K. Goswami.

Mr Khattar has been hitherto the director of tea promotions of the Tea Board in London.

## Dr Bhagat Singh Dies In Toronto

Dr Bhagat Singh, M.L.A., Punjab and a senior Akali leader, died of a heart attack at Toronto, Canada, on May 20, 1983.

Dr Bhagat Singh had gone there for medical treatment in November. He was scheduled to return this month.

Dr Bhagat Singh was born on January 5, 1926, at Dera Baba Nanak in Gurdaspur district. He did his B. Sc. in 1944 and for some time worked as Tehsildar. After quitting the job he did his M.B.B.S. and joined the P.C.M.S.

Dr Bhagat Singh resigned from the P.C.M.S. in 1962 and joined the Akali Dal headed by the late Sant Fateh Singh. He was elected to the Punjab Assembly in 1967, 1969, 1977 and 1980. He served as a Cabinet Minister in the Ministry headed by Sardar Parkash Singh Badal.

Sant Harchand Singh Longowal, Sardar Gurcharan Singh Tohra, Jathedar Jagdev Singh Talwandi condoled Dr Bhagat Singh's death and recalled his services to the Panth.

Giani Zail Singh in a message said that a void had been created in the public life of Punjab. Mr A. P. Sharma and Sardar Darbara Singh expressed their shock over the death.

## Court Notice

In the Court of  
Shri Jagdish Chandra,  
District Judge, Delhi.  
Guardianship Act  
Case No. 247/83

1. Mr. Upendra Kumar Agrawal 2. Mrs. Santosh Agrawal both residents of 226, Naya Bans, Delhi-110006.

Versus ...Petitioners  
1. The State. 2. Delhi Council for Child Welfare, Qudsia Gardens, Alipur Road, Delhi.

The petitioners above-named having applied to be appointed the guardian of the person and property of minor Minor Male Child Master KARAN alias ALOK born on 22nd April, 1983. This 28th day of May, 1983 has been fixed for hearing of the application and notice is hereby given to general public that if any other relative, friend, kinsman or well-wisher declared as desire to oppose appearance in person in the court for declaration of guardian of the person and property of the said minor. On the aforesaid date and be prepared to adduce evidence in support of his claim to such appointment of declaration or in support of this opposition to the application the petitioners aforesaid.

Given under my hand and the seal of the Court. This 16th day of May, 1983.

Sd/- District Judge,  
(Seal) ——— Delhi.



## Viewpoints

### Sikhism has a specific religious code as synthesised by Sikh Gurus

The Akalis did not come into being with the 1923 Jaito morcha—incidentally, Pandit Nehru also participated in that morcha and Gandhiji blessed it—but, like the Akal Takht which is the sanctum sanctorum of the Sikhs in their Golden Temple at Amritsar, the origin and history of the Akali movement goes back to a hoary past. Akali Phoola Singh, a famous Sikh general, was mortally wounded in the year 1810 fighting the Pathans on the north west frontier of the Punjab to keep these marauders from pillaging on plains of Hindustan.

Secondly, the case of the Nirankaris, like the Ahmediyas in Pakistan vis-a-vis Islam, the Sikhs look upon the Sikh Nirankaris as heretics from Sikhism for the very simple reason that Nirankaris worship a living guru which is against the 'mool mantra' of the Sikh faith.

Unlike Hinduism which is all things to all men, Sikhism is a specific religious code and a way of life as synthesised by the Sikh gurus, the tenth of whom was the great Guru Gobind Singh. It was Gobind Singh who welded the Sikhs into a military body or 'church militant'; and though terribly persecuted by the Muhammedan rulers of the Punjab, they held their own and became a sovereign entity under Ranjit Singh. Whether

you call the Sikhs a nation, or a minority community or just a rabble of Sardarjis, the fact is that they form a solid body of many millions in India and abroad and they just cannot be ignored.

Guru Gobind Singh decided that he should also be the last Guru for he did not believe that human nature could be relied upon always to produce men of the type for the leadership of the Sikhs. He, therefore, ordained that on his death the actual book of the Sikh scriptures—the Granth Sahib—should be regarded as the spiritual head or Guru of the Sikh people. Such it has ever remained and, let us be frank, the Sikhs constitute a theocracy.

The majority of Nirankaris go about in the garb of Sikhs—uncut beards and unshorn hair tied up in a knot protected by a turban—but do not believe in the fundamental tenet of Sikhism as so categorically laid down by Guru Gobind Singh.

Now, if the "Sikh Nirankaris" would shave off their beards and cut their hair short and look like other non-Sikhs, the Sikhs will not have any enmity towards them. Let this new religion 'Nirankarism' flourish on its own if it has a message for mankind but the Sikhs cannot have a thistle growing in the Sikh rose-garden. It is as simple as that.

My third point is about the so-called criminals said to be hiding in the Golden Temple complex. If our intelligence is reliable and there are such people in the

temple precincts, they must be flushed out and if necessary by employing an elite police force, as this is a delicate task but quite beyond our run of the mill trigger-happy cops who, day in and day out, are engaged in reprehensible activities, gang rapes, fake encounters with citizens who have temporarily fallen foul of authority and so on and so forth. India will be land of law and order once the Indian cop is placed in law and order.

Take a simple case like 'rasta roko'. The Rasta is rokoed in Nasik, in Assam and in so many other places in India but the police shoots up no young "miscreants". But came April 4 and rasta roko in the Punjab, and twenty peaceful demonstrators are shot by our cops. Why?

Students burn buses almost every week in cities all over the country and no one is shot for this rasta roko with a vengeance. May one ask why this different approach to the Punjabi peasant Sikhs?

Lastly, while I have difficulty in finding strong enough language to condemn the brutal murder of Mr Atwal, allegedly done by a renegade Sikh, I wouldn't be surprised if the killer was a dear one of those twenty so mindlessly shot by the police during the Punjab rasta roko trouble last month. Are not such cops criminals, too, and should not they be brought to book? Equity demands it.

—Brig. Irwin Kullar (Retd.)

New Delhi.

### COURT NOTICES

In the Court of  
Shri Jagdish Chandra,  
District Judge, Delhi.  
Guardianship Act  
Case No. 263/83.

1. Mr. Parlooh Keese 2. Mrs. Kareth Eberhardt Keese rs/o 21, Boulderbrook Road, Wilton, Connecticut 06897, U.S.A. 3. Mrs C.L. Soin, Hony. Secretary, Delhi Council for Child Welfare, Qudsia Gardens, Delhi.

...Petitioners

Versus

1. D.C.C.W. Qudsia Gardens, Delhi-110054, 2. The State (through I.C.C.W.).

The petitioners above-named having applied to be appointed the guardian of the person of minor Miss Nargis born on 5th February, 1982 at Delhi (orphan). This 30th day of May, 1983 has been fixed for hearing of the application. Notice is hereby given to general public that if any other relative, friend, kinsman or well-wisher declared as guardian of the person of the said minor or desire to oppose appearance in person in the court. On the aforesaid date and be prepared to adduce evidence in support of his claim to such appointment of declaration or in support of this opposition to the application of the petitioners aforesaid.

Given under my hand and the seal of the Court. This 21st day of May, 1983.

Sd/- District Judge, Delhi. (Seal)

In the Court of  
Shri Jagdish Chandra,  
District Judge, Delhi.  
Guardianship Act  
Case No. 248/83

1. Shri Jugal Kishore Bhatia, 2. Mrs Chander Kala rs/o 169, Kalyan Vihar, Delhi-110009.

...Petitioners

Versus

1. Sister Tarcisia, Missionaries of Charity, 12-Commissioners Lane, Delhi-110054. 2. M.O.C.

The petitioners above-named having applied to be appointed the guardian of the person of minor Miss Rachna born on 1st July, 1981 at Delhi (orphan). This 4th day of June, 1983 has been fixed for hearing of the application. Notice is hereby given to general public that if any other relative, friend, kinsman or well-wisher declared as guardian of the person of the said minor or desire to oppose appearance in person in the court. On the aforesaid date and be prepared to adduce evidence in support of his claim to such appointment of declaration or in support of his opposition to the applicant on the petitioner aforesaid.

Given under my hand and the seal of the Court. This 19th day of May, 1983.

Sd/- District Judge, Delhi. (Seal)

In the Court of  
Shri Jagdish Chandra,  
District Judge, Delhi.  
Guardianship Act  
Case No. 262/83

1. Mr. Carl Gilbert Driver 2. Mrs Tuyet Driver rs/o 1513 West Lincoln Avenue, Yakima, Washington 98902, USA presently at 142, Malcha Marg, New Delhi, 3 Mrs C.L. Soin Hony Secretary, Delhi Council for Child Welfare, Delhi.

...Petitioners

Versus

1. D.C.C.W. Qudsia Gardens, Delhi-110054, 2. The State (through I.C.C.W.).

The petitioners above-named having applied to be appointed the guardian of the person of minor Miss Radha Charlene, born on 24th of February, 1983 at Delhi (orphan). This 30th day of May, 1983 has been fixed for hearing of the application. Notice is hereby given to general public that if any other relative, friend, kinsman or well-wisher declared as guardian of the person of the said minor or desire to oppose appearance in person in the court. On the aforesaid date and be prepared to adduce evidence in support of his claim to such appointment of declaration or in support of his opposition to the applicant on the petitioners aforesaid.

Given under my hand and the seal of the Court. This 21st day of May, 1983.

Sd/- District Judge, Delhi. (Seal)

In the Court of  
Shri Jagdish Chandra,  
District Judge, Delhi.  
Guardianship Act  
Case No. 258/83

1. Mr. Harbans Lal Anand 2. Mrs Harsh Anand rs/o C-1/48, Malka Ganj, Delhi.

...Petitioners

Versus

1. Sister Tarcisia, Missionaries of Charity, 12-Commissioners Lane, Delhi.

The petitioners above-named having applied to be appointed the guardian of the person of minor Master Puneet Anand, born on 15th September, 1982 at Delhi (orphan). This 28th day of May, 1983 has been fixed for hearing of the application. Notice is hereby given to general public that if any other relative, friend, kinsman or well-wisher declared as guardian of the person of the said minor or desire to oppose appearance in person in the court. On the aforesaid date and be prepared to adduce evidence in support of his claim to such appointment of declaration or in support of his opposition to the applicant on the petitioner aforesaid.

Given under my hand and the seal of the Court. This 19th day of May, 1983.

Sd/- District Judge, Delhi. (Seal)



# Sikhs Demands Genuine and Just

**They are within the framework of the Constitution and law of the country**

By : Sant Harchand Singh Longowal

The discriminatory attitude of the government against Sikhs during the last 34 years has forced them to fight for the rights of Punjab, it (the government's attitude) has made them realise that they will have to fight for their rights. The instances of discrimination are regarding the distribution of river waters. Punjabi-speaking villages, the capital, Sikhs living outside India, and interference in the gurdwaras and the decrease in the recruitment of Sikhs in the army. These issues have forced the Sikhs to fight. A Sikh does not rely upon any foreign nation (for help) and is not susceptible to foreign instigation. We have faith in our country. We are primarily Indians. We believe in the integration of the country. This country is dearer to us. We are for the safeguard of the motherland, but we want equal status in this land.

We want "equal" behaviour from the government. We want to be treated equally. The feeling of discrimination has arisen because in the distribution of water the pattern in the rest of India is different, and for Punjab it is different. Similarly, recruitment to all other services is on the basis of merit, but to reduce the number of the Sikhs in the military they have taken the population formula. Similarly the Sikhs settled outside who are in Haryana and UP are being evicted from their land. Similarly the Punjabi-speaking areas have been kept out (of the Punjabi Suba) whereas in the rest of India these things do not occur. Our capital has been taken away. Even the three headworks has also been taken away from Punjab. That is why all Sikhs have realised that the attitude of the government is step-motherly, and all Sikhs have realised that they should join the movement and that

**A Sikh does not rely upon any foreign nation and is not susceptible to foreign instigation. We have faith in our country. We are primarily Indians.**

their demands are genuine. Sikhs all over the world, Punjabis, honest Hindus and Mohammedans and Christians are supporting the movement.

In 1978 when we were in power we passed a resolution which was approved by 20 lakh people. At that time Loknayak Jayaprakash Narayan wrote to us that just as you fought against the Emergency and got independence you must again fight for more powers for the states. In 1978, the Dal was in power and when we were holding a conference, Loknayak Jayaprakash wrote to us supporting the (Anandpur Sahib) Resolution. Then our government broke and we lost power... and we had to continue our fight. Chandrasekhar was present, and the case regarding the waters was taken to the Supreme Court and the Thein Dam Project was approved.

The programme is of the Akali Dal. The Dal has chalked out the programme and whoever is supporting the agitation is obeying the programme of the Akali Dal. So the question of two voices does not arise. There is no moderate or radical voice. That is the programme of the dictator of the morcha. And lakhs of people have joined the morcha and millions have supported it. Rather, the things are the reverse. You say two voices. During this agitation, all other Akali Dals stood dissolved. Even Jathedar Jagdev

Singh Talwandi and Sukhjinder Singh joined in. You say there are two voices but there is only one voice.

The resolution was drafted, approved, accepted by the Shiromani Akali Dal. The Shiromani Akali Dal had launched an agitation for the acceptance of this resolution. All these religious, economic, political and territorial demands are part of that Anandpur Sahib Resolution. The demand for proper water distribution is not included in the Resolution. It is extra. The relay of gurbani is not included in the Resolution. So we are demanding more than the Anandpur Sahib Resolution. The Akalis are stating the problems of the Sikhs as a whole. With the passage of time, new things can crop up. The Akalis have taken all those into consideration. As for Sant Bhindranwale, he is an honourable religious teacher. He is supporting the movement. The Akali Dal is the only organisation which decides. We had presented a memorandum to the government of India and we are fighting for that. It was presented to Mrs Indira Gandhi on July 26, 1981 during the World Sikh Convention. We are fighting on the basis of that charter. Anyhow, Sant Bhindranwale was not in the picture earlier. He joined us on August 4, 1982 whereas Akali Dal had been holding morcha from before.

From the outset, these are the demands of all Punjabis. Water and electricity are the demands of Punjab. Religious demands also can be for the Sikhs only. But our demands are not only for Punjabis and Sikhs but one of our major demands is for the whole of India, for the true federal system, as per the Anandpur Sahib Resolu-

tion. If you go through it you will see we have never demanded anything for Sikhs, as such. Religious demands can only be for Sikhs. Of course, Hindus too can demand like water, territorial issue, Punjabi-speaking areas, language problem in the neighbouring states, are for Punjabis. I am confident that CPI, CPI (M), even BJP at its Pathankot session, in fact all the opposition parties, are supporting me...not only supporting but saying that our demands are genuine.

This matter concerns the relations of one state with another. *Desh da kanoon lagu karo. Je loha sanu mufat milda howey, je khand sanu mufat mildi, taad assi paani mufat de sakdey haan* (enforce the laws of the land. If we were to get iron or sugar free, we would be willing to give water free). Why aren't the same principles which apply to other states being applied in my state? Punjab is already crying for more water. We have less water than we need. The question is to accept the principle of ownership of rivers. Punjab is being discriminated against on this count. This is why we say this issue should be taken to the supreme court. The supreme court is not a Sikh organisation. Thus I want an all-India decision.

The negotiations are not progressing and sometimes they have fallen though at the final stage. Mrs Gandhi has been encircled by some gangsters whose approach is communal. She is not herself communal. But her advisers are. Similarly, this lady is of such a nature that she does not like to give credit to anyone else. This lady is more concerned about party politics and self-interest. And the interest of her party. The whole of the opposition and the whole of the genuine thinkers of the country are of the opinion that the demands of the Akali Dal are genuine. They are within the framework of the constitution, the law of the country. Even then Mrs Gandhi has not conceded the demands straightaway; because she does not want to give credit to Akali Dal and she does not want to give the impression that her party has suffered a loss by giving the credit to some religious and regional party.

Time has proved that almost cent per cent Sikhs are supporting my party and my agitation except a few who can be counted on fingertips. They (such persons) have always existed in history such as Rajaman Singh during Akbar's period and Jai Chand. Similarly in Sikh history there has been Pahara Singh and a few others. So only such Sikhs who are capturing chairs and seek some favours from the government, are supporting the government. Otherwise the common Sikhs en bloc are supporting my agitation. This is not an agitation by a party, this is an agitation by the Sikhs.

We are determined to keep our struggle completely peaceful, despite the provocation of the government. To be ready for a prolonged struggle—as I see it that is the intention of the government of India—this peaceful force (of one lakh volunteers) has been recruited. Its purpose is carrying on the peaceful agitation within the framework of the constitution.

Even retired generals have approved that the struggle is within the constitutional framework. They said, your demands are genuine and not against the country. They have come to me voluntarily.

We have not taken arms from anyone, nor do we need them. The movement will remain peaceful. 1,07,000 volunteers have already courted arrest. They all remained peaceful. 150 people have died. But there is no apprehension of violence.

The Akali Dal is the only party representing all the Sikhs of the world. That is why hundreds of Sikhs went to the United Nations in support of Akali demands. None went to the UN for Indira Gandhi or for any other person.

The circumstances were such that we have always tried to accommodate other parties. We can try, in future to go it alone. We have never gone to the polls alone in the past. But we won 60 seats out of 117 in the last elections in 1977. But if the need arises...I don't say...we have never experienced what going it alone is like. If the need arises, we can form a government on our own. But we want to keep the Hindus with us.

We want a government with the help of Hindus and Sikhs and Christians and Mohammedans.